

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 CU-02 DHA-02 ACDA-07 /069 W
-----111123 281357Z /53

R 281233Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8782
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUDAPEST 2098

BELGRADE FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: HU, CSCE, SHUM
SUBJECT: MFA OFFICIAL ON NATURE OF IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IN CSCE ERA

REF: (A) BUDAPEST 1464, (B) FBIS 221922Z JUNE 1977

1. SUMMARY. ARTICLE BY PAL RACZ, STATE SECRETARY FOR
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ENTITLED "OUR INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY"
REHASHES GOH POSITION ON CSCE DEFENDING GOH RECORD AND
LAUDING ITS CSCE BILATERAL INITIATIVES. IN IMPORTANT
SECTION, HOWEVER, RACZ DEVELOPS PREVIOUSLY ARTICULATED GOH
VIEWS (SEE REF A) ON PERMISSIBILITY OF TWO-SIDED EAST-WEST
IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE. FURTHER REMARKS MAKE CLEAR HUNGARIAN
SOLIDARITY WITH SOVIETS AND DESIRE TO AVOID BEING SINGLED OUT
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BY WEST AS HAVING BETTER RECORD ON CSCE IMPEMNTATION.
END SUMMARY.

2. RACZ ARTICLE PUBLISHED IN NEPSZABADSAG ACKNOWLEDGES
FOR GOH THAT WEST HAS RIGHT TO ENGAGE IN IDEOLOGICAL
STRUGGLE WITH REGARD TO CSCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS (FOR KEY
EXCERPT SEE REF B). HE CONCEDES THAT INTER-STATE COOPERA-

TION AND IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE CAN GO ON SIMULTANEOUSLY. BUT, HE SAYS, "WE OPPOSE EVERY ATTEMPT AT MAKING QUESTIONS OF AN IDEOLOGICAL NATURE THE SUBJECT OF OFFICIAL INTER-STATE RELATIONS. SIX WEEKS AGO HSWP IDEOLOGUE TAMAS PALOS MADE SAME POINTS (SEE AGAIN REF A) BUT WAS RATHER HAZY ON WHAT WHERE PROPER LIMITS OF IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE, AFFIRMING ONLY THAT THESE LIMITS MUST NOT BE EXCEEDED. NOW RACZ SEEMS TO SAY THAT THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IS ALL RIGHT IF CARRIED OUT IN PROPAGANDA MEDIA, OR EVEN ARTICULATED BY STATESMEN AND POLITICIANS IN THEIR PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS. HOWEVER, IT CANNOT BE A SUBJECT OF STATE-TO-STATE RELATIONS; THAT IS, ONE STATE MUST NOT ATTEMPT TO PRESSURE OR INFLUENCE ANOTHER STATE WITH RESPECT TO HUMAN RIGHTS. IMPLIED CRITICISM OF US IS CLEAR, IF EXPRESSED IN MODERATE TONE.

3. JUST AS INTERESTING IS CLEARLY RELATED PASSAGE IN WHICH RACZ POINTS OUT THAT CAPITALIST STATES WISH TO DIVIDE SOCIALIST STATES BY PUSHING SOME COUNTRIES INTO FOREGROUND AND TO ISOLATE OTHERS BY SLANDER AND DISCRIMINATION. DIVISION OF SOCIALIST CAMP, HE DECLARES, CANNOT BE PRICE OF DETENTE. NOT A SINGLE SOCIALIST COUNTRY CAN BE ISOLATED OR PUSHED INTO BACKGROUND ON PRETEXT THAT IN COUNTRY IN QUESTION FORMS AND METHODS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION APPEAR IN A DIFFERENT WAY. IN THE WEST, RACZ WRITES, PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN CONNECTED WITH HUMAN RIGHTS IS MADE TO APPEAR DIRECTED ONLY AGAINST SOME

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SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WHEN IN REALITY IT AFFECTS WHOLE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY. THIS STATEMENT WOULD SEEM TO INDICATE THAT GOH IS EMBARRASSED WITH RESPECT TO REMAINDER OF SOCIALIST COMMUNITY BY ITS GOOD RECORD ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND MUST IN COMPENSATION SPEAK OUT IN DEFENSE OF SOVIET UNION AND HUNGARY'S OTHER WARSAW PACT ALLIES. CONFIRMING THIS POINT RACZ SAYS FURTHER THAT FULFILLMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN HUNGARY IS "NOT DONE TO SERVE GOOD MARKS FROM OUR CAPITALIST PARTNERS" BUT BECAUSE OF "PRINCIPLE, POLICY" AND "NORMAL NEED OF DEVELOPING SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY."

4. RACZ IS ONE OF FEW FIGURES IN MFA WHO CARRY SOME WEIGHT WITH RESPECT FORMULATION HUNGARIAN FOREIGN POLICY. USG COULD NOT ASK FOR MUCH CLEARER INDICATION THAN CONTAINED IN HIS COMMENTS THAT ANY SINGLING OUT OF HUNGARY FOR PRAISE BY WEST AT BELGRADE CONFERENCE, OR FOR THAT MATTER IN ANY OTHER PUBLIC PLACE, MIGHT HAVE DELETERIOUS EFFECT ON HUNGARY'S FREEDOM OF ACTION TO IMPLEMENT CONSTRUCTIVELY ITS UP-UNTIL-NOW COMPARATIVELY LIBERAL INTERNAL POLICIES.

5. EMBASSY POUCHING FULL TEXT OF SPEECH TO EUR/EE.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: HUMAN RIGHTS, POLICIES, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, COLLECTIVE SECURITY AGREEMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 28-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BUDAPE02098
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770230-0649
Format: TEL
From: BUDAPEST
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770611/aaaaajun.tel
Line Count: 117
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 8c1c9e73-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 BUDAPEST 1464
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 13-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2012493
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MFA OFFICIAL ON NATURE OF IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IN CSCE ERA
TAGS: SHUM, HU, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/8c1c9e73-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009